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SUBJECT: SECRETARY COHEN'S LUNCH WITH BAMBANG YUDHOYONO

¶1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY ACTING POLITICAL COUNSELOR GREG FERGIN FOR REASON 1.5(D).

¶2. (C) SUMMARY. IN A SEPTEMBER 18 LUNCH, INDONESIAN COORDINATING MINISTER FOR POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND SECURITY AFFAIRS BAMBANG YUDHOYONO TOLD SECRETARY COHEN THAT ON YUDHOYONO'S MISSION TO NEW YORK, HE WILL DESCRIBE IN DETAIL INDONESIA'S AGENDA FOR DISARMING AND DISBANDING THE MILITIAS. HE SAID INDONESIA WOULD FIRST TRY PERSUASIVE METHODS AND THEN "REPRESSIVE" METHODS. THE GOI HAS ESTABLISHED A FIRM TIMETABLE FOR DISARMAMENT; POLICE, BACKED UP BY THE MILITARY, WILL TAKE COERCIVE MEASURES IF THE MILITIAS DO NOT TURN IN THEIR WEAPONS FROM SEPTEMBER 22-24. YUDHOYONO SAID THAT SIX SUSPECTS IN THE ATAMBUA KILLINGS HAVE BEEN DETAINED AND THAT OTHER ARRESTS, INCLUDING OF NOTORIOUS MILITIA LEADER EURICO GUTERRES, ARE IMMINENT. YUDHOYONO SAID THAT HE FACES PRESSURE FROM ULTRA-NATIONALIST FORCES WITHIN INDONESIAN SOCIETY AND IN THE INDONESIAN CABINET. HE SAID THAT MANY INDONESIANS MISUNDERSTAND THE UNSC RESOLUTION AND MISREAD INTERNATIONAL CONCERN AS A THREAT TO INDONESIAN SOVEREIGNTY. HE SAID DELAYING THE UNSC MISSION WOULD HELP DISARM NATIONALIST CRITICS. HE ALSO URGED COHEN TO ALLAY NATIONALIST CONCERNS BY INCLUDING A STRONG STATEMENT OF SUPPORT FOR INDONESIA'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY IN HIS PRESS STATEMENT.

¶3. (C) SUMMARY CONTINUED. SECRETARY COHEN TOLD YUDHOYONO THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY EXPECTS QUICK RESULTS ON DISARMING AND DISBANDING THE TIMOR MILITIAS AND ON PROSECUTING THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MURDERS OF UN PEACEKEEPERS AND THE ATAMBUA MASSACRE OF UNHCR STAFF. COHEN SAID WHEN SENIOR INDONESIAN OFFICIALS DENY INDONESIA'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ATAMBUA MURDERS OR EVEN BLAME FOREIGNERS FOR THE KILLINGS, IT HURTS INDONESIA'S INTERNATIONAL IMAGE. HE SAID THAT THE U.S. IS READY TO SUPPORT INDONESIA'S EFFORTS AT MILITARY REFORM, BUT THAT EVENTS OVER THE PAST SIX MONTHS HAVE MADE IT DIFFICULT TO REESTABLISH MILITARY-MILITARY TIES. COHEN SAID THE "WORLD IS LOOKING AT INDONESIA THROUGH THE LENS OF TIMOR," AND URGED YUDHOYONO TO TAKE SWIFT MEASURES, INCLUDING ACTION AGAINST EX-INDONESIAN ARMED FORCES PERSONNEL ACTIVE IN TRAINING AND EQUIPPING THE MILITIAS. STRONG MEASURES WOULD SEND A SIGNAL TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY THAT THE INDONESIAN MILITARY IS READY TO TAKE A RESPONSIBLE ROLE IN INDONESIAN SOCIETY. END SUMMARY.

¶4. (U) ON SEPTEMBER 18, SECRETARY COHEN AND AMBASSADOR GELBARD MET OVER LUNCH WITH INDONESIAN COORDINATING MINISTER FOR POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND SECURITY AFFAIRS BAMBANG YUDHOYONO. CHIEF OF STAFF FOR TERRITORIAL AFFAIRS LT. GENERAL AGUS WIDJOYO, PRINCIPAL DEPUTY UNDERSECRETARY OF DEFENSE JAMES BODNER, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE KENNETH BACON, AND DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE SKIP BOYCE ALSO ATTENDED THE LUNCH.

YUDHOYONO: GOI PLANS

¶5. (C) YUDHOYONO SAID THAT ON HIS MISSION TO NEW YORK HE WOULD EXPLAIN THE CURRENT SITUATION IN WEST TIMOR, CONVEY THE GOI'S RESPONSE TO UNSC RESOLUTION 1319, DESCRIBE THE GOI'S PLAN OF ACTION FOR DISBANDING AND DISARMING THE MILITIAS AND THE PROSECUTION OF THOSE GUILTY OF CRIMES, AND DISCUSS HOW THE GOI CAN

WORK WITH UNTAET ON REPATRIATION OF TIMOR IDPS. YUDHOYONO SAID THAT THE GOI WOULD FIRST TAKE A "PERSUASIVE APPROACH" IN DISARMING THE MILITIAS. YUDHOYONO HAD MET ON SEPTEMBER 14 WITH MILITIA LEADERS AS PART OF THAT PERSUASIVE APPROACH AND THE MILITIA LEADERS HAD PROMISED TO TURN IN THEIR WEAPONS. YUDHOYONO FEELS CONFIDENT THAT THE MILITIAS WILL DISARM VOLUNTARILY, BUT THE GOI HAS SET A STRICT TIMETABLE FOR COMPLIANCE. IF THE MILITIAS DO NOT TURN OVER THEIR WEAPONS DURING THE THREE-DAY PERIOD SEPTEMBER 22-24, THE INDONESIAN POLICE, BACKED UP BY THE MILITARY, WILL IMPLEMENT THE "REPRESSIVE" PHASE OF DISARMING THE MILITIAS. YUDHOYONO SAID THAT A PERIOD OF MONITORING AND FOLLOW UP WILL ALSO BE REQUIRED BECAUSE THE MILITIAS MAY HAVE MANY HIDDEN CACHES OF ARMS. HE SAID THAT DISARMING THE MILITIAS WOULD BE A LONG PROCESS.

ARRESTS PROCEEDING

¶ 16. (C) YUDHOYONO SAID THE PROSECUTION OF THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE KILLINGS AT ATAMBUA IS PROCEEDING. SIX SUSPECTS HAVE ALREADY BEEN ARRESTED IN CONNECTION WITH THE ATAMBUA KILLINGS. OTHER ARRESTS, IN CONNECTION WITH THIS AND OTHER INVESTIGATIONS, ARE IMMINENT. YUDHOYONO SAID THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THAT NOTORIOUS MILITIA LEADER EURICO GUTERRES WOULD SOON BE ARRESTED, THOUGH NOT ON CHARGES RELATED TO THE ATAMBUA KILLINGS. SECRETARY COHEN AND AMBASSADOR GELBARD REVIEWED THE EVIDENCE PLACING GUTERRES AT ATAMBUA ON THE DAY OF THE KILLINGS. YUDHOYONO INITIALLY SAID THAT EURICO MIGHT HAVE BEEN IN WEST TIMOR BECAUSE OF THE DEATH THE PREVIOUS DAY OF MILITIA LEADER OLIVIO MORUK. THE AMBASSADOR POINTED OUT THAT THE SIX-HOUR TRAVEL TIME BETWEEN KUPANG AND ATAMBUA MEANT THAT GUTERRES MUST HAVE DEPARTED BY 5:30 A.M. TO ARRIVE IN ATAMBUA. THIS WAS EVIDENCE OF GUTERRES'S PREMEDITATED MALICE. YUDHOYONO FINALLY SAID THAT THE POLICE WILL HAVE TO BUILD A CASE TO LINK GUTERRES DIRECTLY TO THE CRIMES.

NATIONALIST PRESSURE

¶ 17. (C) YUDHOYONO SAID THAT, AS IN ANY DEVELOPING COUNTRY, THERE ARE "ULTRA-NATIONALIST" ELEMENTS IN SOCIETY AND IN THE CABINET. HE SAID THAT HE ADVOCATES WORKING WITH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND FACING UP TO INTERNATIONAL CONCERNs, BUT FACES STRONG PRESSURE FROM THE NATIONALISTS. MANY INDONESIANS, INCLUDING MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT AND OFFICIALS MISREAD INTERNATIONAL CONCERN OVER TIMOR AND OTHER TOPICS AS A THREAT TO INDONESIAN SOVEREIGNTY. NATIONALISM HAD CAUSED CONSIDERABLE TROUBLE FOR YUDHOYONO PERSONALLY. FOR EXAMPLE, HE HAD PREVIOUSLY TAKEN A GREAT DEAL OF FLAK FOR ADVOCATING A POLICY OF COOPERATION WITH INTERFET. SIMILARLY, RESISTANCE FROM OLDER OFFICERS IN THE MILITARY HAD STYMIED YUDHOYONO'S BLUEPRINT FOR MILITARY REFORM, WHICH HAD BEEN AGREED UPON TWO YEARS AGO. HE ASKED FOR U.S. SUPPORT AND PATIENCE OVER THE LONG TERM.

UNSC MISSION

¶ 18. (C) YUDHOYONO SAID THAT INDONESIANS, AND SPECIFICALLY "ULTRANATIONALISTS," MISUNDERSTAND THE UN THESE INDONESIANS EQUATE ANYTHING RELATED TO THE UN WITH UN PEACEKEEPING OR A UN TRIBUNAL. SUCH SENTIMENTS HAD LED TO INDONESIAN RESISTANCE TO THE UNSC MISSION ON WEST TIMOR. YUDHOYONO SAID THAT THE MISSION WOULD BEST BE DELAYED SO THAT IT COULD CONFIRM INDONESIAN PROGRESS ON THE WEST TIMOR CRISIS RATHER THAN COME UP WITH "A NEW PACKAGE" ON WEST TIMOR. RESISTANCE TO THE MISSION, HE SAID, MIGHT BE OVERCOME MERELY BY CHANGING THE TIMING. IN RESPONSE, AMBASSADOR GELBARD NOTED THAT IT HAD ALREADY BEEN TWO WEEKS SINCE THE KILLINGS AND IN THE ABSENCE OF CONCRETE ACTIONS, FURTHER DELAY WAS INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT. YUDHOYONO ALSO SAID THAT A DELEGATION OF "BLUE BERETS" MIGHT BE LESS INFLAMMATORY TO NATIONALIST PASSIONS THAN A UNSC MISSION. (NOTE: YUDHOYONO'S REFERENCE TO "BLUE BERETS" PROBABLY MEANT UN MILITARY OBSERVERS.) THE SECRETARY AND THE AMBASSADOR REBUTTED THAT IT WAS HARD TO BELIEVE THAT A GROUP OF SIX DIPLOMATS WOULD BE PERCEIVED AS MORE THREATENING THAN A MILITARY DELEGATION. MOREOVER, THERE WAS A PRECEDENT FOR THE MISSION IN LAST YEAR'S UNSC MISSION. FINALLY, INACCURATE, AND PICAYUNE, INDONESIAN

CRITICISM OVER THE DATES LISTED IN THE UNSC RESOLUTION WAS NOT BECOMING EITHER.

COHEN: WORLD WAITING FOR ACTION

¶ 9. (C) SECRETARY COHEN SAID THAT WEST TIMOR WAS THE MAIN TOPIC OF DISCUSSION DURING HIS ENTIRE VISIT. THE U.S. AND THE ENTIRE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY EXPECT THE GOI TO TAKE SWIFT, STRONG ACTION TO DISBAND AND DISARM THE MILITIAS AND TO BRING TO JUSTICE THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE KILLINGS OF UN PEACEKEEPERS AND FOR THE ATAMBUA MASSACRE. HE SAID THAT WHEN SENIOR INDONESIAN OFFICIALS PUBLICLY DISPUTE INDONESIAN RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE PROBLEMS IN WEST TIMOR AND EVEN BLAME THE ATAMBUA KILLINGS ON FOREIGNERS (AS HAD BEEN STATED MORE THAN ONCE BY THE DEFENSE MINISTER), IT WAS NOT HELPFUL TO INDONESIA'S IMAGE. SECRETARY COHEN HAD ALSO BEEN DISAPPOINTED BY THE DEFENSE MINISTER'S STATEMENT THAT THE MILITARY WAS NOT ABLE TO DISARM THE MILITIAS. SUCH STATEMENTS INDICATE THAT INDONESIA IS NOT FACING UP TO ITS OBLIGATION TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS IN WEST TIMOR. AMBASSADOR GELBARD SAID THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, HAVING PREVIOUSLY RECEIVED GUARANTEES OF THE UNHCR WORKERS' SAFETY, WAS NOW ADAMANT THAT INDONESIA DO MORE THAN MAKE COMMITMENTS, BUT TAKE REAL ACTION. COHEN SUGGESTED THAT IT WOULD BE PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT TO MOVE AGAINST THE EX-MILITARY WHO TRAIN AND EQUIP THE MILITIAS. WHEN YUDHOYONO EQUIVOCATED OVER POSSIBLE EX-MILITARY INVOLVEMENT, AMBASSADOR GELBARD SAID THERE IS SOLID EVIDENCE THAT THE MILITIAS HAVE RECEIVED SMALL-UNIT TRAINING AND NEW ARMS AND MATERIEL FROM MILITARY SOURCES. YUDHOYONO SAID THAT HE HAD ASKED ON MORE THAN ONE OCCASION THAT THE REGIONAL MILITARY COMMAND INVESTIGATE ALLEGATIONS OF EX-MILITARY OFFICERS' INVOLVEMENT.

MILITARY TIES

¶ 10. (C) YUDHOYONO DESCRIBED HOW INDONESIA WANTS TO MOVE TOWARD A MORE PROFESSIONAL AND EFFECTIVE MILITARY. HE REQUESTED THAT THE U.S. ESTABLISH BETTER MILITARY TO MILITARY TIES TO ASSIST INDONESIA'S EFFORTS. COHEN SAID THAT THE U.S. LOOKED FORWARD TO THE TIME WHEN CONDITIONS ALLOW THE REESTABLISHMENT OF MILITARY TO MILITARY TIES. COHEN SAID THAT PERSONALLY HE GENERALLY ADVOCATES IMET AND OTHER MILITARY TIES; HOWEVER, CONTINUING CONCERNs OVER TIMOR IN PARTICULAR HAVE KEPT STRICT CONGRESSIONAL PROHIBITIONS SOLIDLY IN PLACE. HE NOTED THAT THE USG HAD PROVIDED C-130 PARTS AS A GESTURE OF GOOD WILL. UNFORTUNATELY, DETERIORATING EVENTS OVER THE LAST SIX MONTHS HAVE NOW UNDERMINED PROGRESS AT REESTABLISHING MILITARY TIES. SECURITY IN TIMOR WAS BETTER A YEAR AGO, HE SAID. WHEN TIES ARE GRADUALLY REESTABLISHED, THE U.S. WILL CONCENTRATE FIRST ON THE NAVY, AIR FORCE, AND MARINES BEFORE MOVING TO THE ARMY, WHERE REFORM EFFORTS HAVE LAGGED. YUDHOYONO SAID THAT HE ALWAYS PREFERENCES FRANK DIALOGUE AND DIALOGUE. FOR EXAMPLE, HE FOUND THE SECRETARY'S AND AMBASSADOR'S REMARKS STRONG BUT USEFUL BECAUSE THEY WERE FRANKLY STATED.

NEED A SIGNAL

¶ 11. (C) COHEN SUMMED UP BY SAYING THAT THE U.S. AND OTHER COUNTRIES WERE LOOKING TO INDONESIA TO SEND A SIGNAL. IF ACTION IS TAKEN IN A SHORT TIME TO ADDRESS INTERNATIONAL CONCERNs IT WILL SEND A POWERFUL MESSAGE THAT THE MILITARY IS READY TO PLAY A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE IN INDONESIA AND THAT INDONESIA IS READY TO PLAY A MORE POSITIVE INTERNATIONAL ROLE. FAIRLY OR NOT, COHEN SAID, "THE WORLD IS LOOKING AT INDONESIA THROUGH THE LENS OF EAST TIMOR." THE U.S. HAS A SELFISH INTEREST IN PROMOTING THE STABILITY AND PROSPERITY OF A UNIFIED INDONESIA, WHICH WOULD HAVE A POSITIVE EFFECT ON THE ENTIRE REGION. COHEN CALLED ON THE GOI TO TAKE THE NECESSARY STEPS TO ALLOW THE U.S. TO HELP INDONESIA. A STRONG INDONESIA IS EVERYONE'S GOAL, HE SAID

GELBARD